Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 911

CONFIDENTIAL GEORGETOWN 0289

FOR ASST. SECY ROGERS FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 11652: GDS TAGS: PFOR, XL

SUBJECT: THOUGHTS ON "NEW DIALOGUE"

REF: TELECON HIGH/KREBS

- 1. MY NOTES OF JAN 6 SESSION WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER INDICATE
 HE ASKED THE CHIEFS OF MISSION TO COME FORWARD WITH IDEAS ON
 HOW TO DEAL WITH QUOTE DILEMMA OF NEW DIALOGUE UNQUOTE, ADDRESSING
 SPECIFICALLY (1) WHAT IS EGREGIOUSLY WRONG WITH IT, (2) WHAT
 IS MOST OBJECTIONABLE ABOUT IT TO LA'S, AND (3) WHERE SHOULD IT BE
 HEADED?
- 2. WHAT IS WRONG WITH DIALOGUE? ACTUALLY NOTHING, PROVIDED WE HAVE A CLEAR IDEA OF WHAT WE WANT IT TO ACHIEVE, DONT OVERSELL OURSELVES ON POTENTIAL FOR IMMEDIATE RESULTS, OR ALLOW LA'S TO SPIN ILLUSIONS THAT DIALOGUE IS EUPHEMISM FOR AVALANCHE OF GOODIES FROM YANKEE UNCLE. THERE IS ROOM TO DOUBT WHETHER OUR AIMS HAVE BEEN ADEQUATELY DEFINED (SEE PARAS 4-6 BELOW), BUT CERTAINLY DIALOGUE IS APPROPRIATE DEVICE AND SYMBOL FOR TRANSITION FROM OLD PATRON/CLIENT RELATIONSHIP TO NEW BASIS. DILEMMA ARISES FROM FACT THAT MOST LA'S STILL LACK SUFFICIENT MATURITY TO COPE WITH THIS CONCEPT, AND ADDITIONAL FACT THAT EXTREME DIVERSITIES OF SIZE, DEVELOPMENT, AND BASIC INTERESTS AMONG LA'S WILL REQUIRE TIME AND A REAL ACT OF FAITH TO ACHIEVE CONSENSUS ON COMMON APPROACH TO TO RELATIONS WITH USG OTHER THAN STERILE CONFRONCONFIDENTIAL

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TATION.

- 3. WHAT IS OBJECTIONABLE ABOUT DIALOGUE TO LA'S?
 ALTHOUGH NOT ARTICULATED, PROBABLY FOR MOST LA'S IT IS UNCERTAINTY
 ABOUT USG MOTIVES AND OBJECTIVES. REACTION TO OUR POSTURE AT
 QUITO IS EXAMPLE OF THIS PHENOMENON. ANOTHER POTENTIAL IRRITANT
 DERIVES FROM SECRTARY'S PERSONAL ROLE IN LAUNCHING NEW DIALOGUE
 AND WHAT LA'S HAVE SEEN HIM ACCOMPLISH IN MIDDLE EAST. UNCERTAINTY WILL BE AUGMENTED, AND VANITY HURT, IF LA'S BELIEVE SECRETARY
 HAS LOST, OR IS LOSING, INTEREST. AND NO MATTER WHAT FRUITS BLOSSOM
 ON VINE OF NEW DIALOGUE, THEY WILL TASTE SOUR TO LA'S ALONGSIDE
 WHAT THEY WILL INEVITABLY REGARD AS "MIRACLE HARVEST" OF USG
 EFFORTS IN OTHER AREAS.
- 4. WHERE SHOULD DIALOGUE BE HEADED? ABORTION OF BUENOS AIRES MEETING IS PROBABLY A BLESSING. SINCE IT SEEMED LIKELY MEETING WOULD PRODUCE FURTHER DRIFT TOWARD CONFRONTATION RATHER THAN ADVANCE TOWARD EXCHANGE OF CONSTRUCTIVE IDEAS. WHILE LA'S ARE RECOVERING FROM EMOTIONAL BINGE OVER TRADE ACT, WE WILL HAVE TIME TO PONDER FURTHER WHAT WE WANT DIALOUGE TO ACHIEVE. ONE MAJOR ISSUE WHICH APPARENTLY NEEDS FURTHE ANALYSIS IS TO WHAT EXTENT WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR DEALINGS WITH LA'S IN MULTILATERAL FRAMEWORK. INCREASINGLY, OAS AND OTHER MULTILATEAL FORUMS ARE PRODUCING ONE-DIMENSIONAL LA SOLIDARITY--I.E; AGAINST U.S. THERE IS SEROUS QUESTION WHETHER LA'S ARE PRESENTLY CAPABLE OF UNITING ON ANYTHING EXCEPT CONFRONTATION WITH U.S. DEALING ON BILATERAL BASIS IS NOT SATISFACTORY LONG-TERM ALTERNATIVE, BUT FOR AT LEAST NEXT FIVE YEARS WE WOULD DO WELL TO KEEP OUR BILATERAL CONTACTS BURNISHED. IN FACT, WE MAY FIND DIALOGUE WITH SELECTED LEADES (MAINLY MODERATES) AMONG LA'S IS MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF ADVANCNG TOWARD NEW RELATIONSHIP. AS COROLLARY, WE SHOULD NOT RELY TOO HEAVILY ON OAS, EXCEPT FOR ESSENTIALLY TECH-NICAL MATTERS, NOR SHOULD WE EXPEND EFFORT ON MAKING OAS MEMBERSHIP UNIVERSAL (E.G. GUYANA), SINCE PROSPECTIVE NEW MEMBERS CAN ONLY ADD TO DIVISIONS WITHIN OAS AND TO OVERALL CONFRONTATION WITH U.S.
- 5. IN ASSESSING WHAT OUR OBJECTIVES SHOULD BE IN LA, SUGGEST WE START FROM CLEAN SLATE, TRYING SO FAR AS POSSIBLE TO SHED THE DEAD WEIGHT OF TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS AND ROLES. ASSUME WE OWE LA NOTHING AND VICE VERSA. DEFINE OUR INTERESTS CONFIDENTIAL.

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PRESCISELY AND IDENTIFY POSSIBLE TRADE-OFFS WITH LA INTERESTS, TO BE DEALT WITH ON STRICT QUID PRO QUO BASIS. THE AIM OF THIS ANALYSIS SHOULD BE TO DETERMINE WHETHER THERE IS IN FACT A BASIS FOR A QUOTE SPECIAL RLATIONSHIP UNQUOTE WITH LA, AND ON WHAT TERMS.

6. FOR PRESENT, THERE ARE PROBABLY ONLY A FEW LA'S WITH WHICH OUR INTERESTS OVERLAP SUFFICIENTLY TO WARRANT PURSUIT OF A CONCERNTED COLLABORATION. HOWEVER, WITH TIME AND AN ACTIVE PROGRAM OF BILATERAL

CONTACTS, THE LIST SHOULD GROW, ESPECIALLY IF WE ARE CONSISTENT IN REWARDING FRIENDLY BEHAVIOR. WHETHER THIS PROCESS SHOULD LEAD EVENTUALLY TO SOME FORM OF A QUOTE BLOC UNQUOTE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN U.S. AND LA CAN BE DETERMINED AT A LATER STAGE. FOR MEDIUM TERM, WE WILL BE WELL SERVED IF WE CAN REACH A STABLE COLLABORATIVE BASE WITH TWO OR THREE OF THE MAJOR LA'S (WHICH ITSELF WOULD MUARANTEE ADHESION OF MOST OF THE SMALLER AND LESS DEVELOPED LA'S).

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